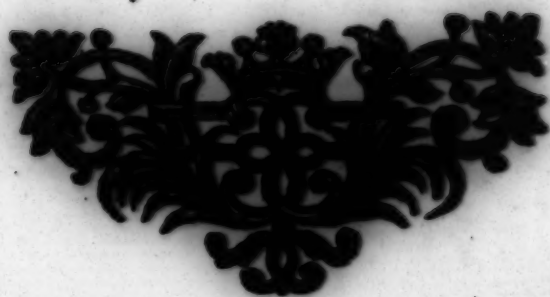


THE
CONSTITUTION.

WITH AN
ADDRESS

TO A
GREAT MAN.

The SECOND EDITION.

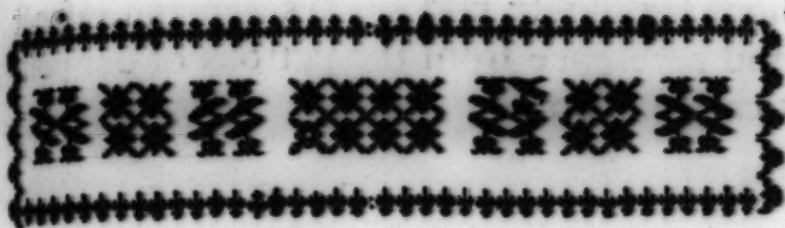


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THE
CONSTITUTION.

With an ADDRESS to a

GREAT MAN.

SIR,

SUSPICIONS and even distrusts with regard to particular persons and characters, when the welfare and interests of a great people are concerned, will be for ever pardonable. Jealousies, even of prejudice and partiality, will deserve our attention and our most unjustifiable apprehensions

fions for liberty will always demand respect and reverence from the patrons of our political freedom.

But, Sir, you have so often, so powerfully, and so solemnly asserted this freedom, that you can never, without a manifest violation of character, even seem to be offended with the language it speaks, or the sentiments it professes. However, neither your resentments, nor my apologies, can ever affect this paper. It shall be continued during your administration, and the public will determine, whether the writer should be deemed a turbulent, seditious libeller, or a faithful and impartial historian.

His design is to animate and unite the friends of the constitution in its defence and preservation. For if ever our united strength is to be exerted; if our personal resentments, the contests of ambition, the altercations of somewhat, too civilly called eloquence, are ever to cease: if caballing and intriguing; if parties and factions are ever to know an end, certainly a plain, uninfluenced understanding would pronounce this to be the time. You, Sir, have determined otherwise. You have excluded some men most eminently capable of serving their country. You have introduced others
into

into the administration, new to business, nor yet distinguished by, or believed to have any superiour abilities. This conduct must necessarily occasion doubts, suspicions, jealousies ; but from what motives it proceeded, whether laudable or criminal, your own consciousness can alone positively determine. The rest of mankind, who are interested, deeply interested, in the inquiry, can only judge from appearances, and your past, political conduct can alone give evidence, upon which our future hopes or apprehensions may rely.

To enter into this inquiry with candour, and to preserve ourselves independent of the passions or prejudices of the very vulgar, it is necessary, even for your sake, to consider in what condition you receive the commonwealth, and in what manner you have entered upon your *sole* administration. Thus shall *we* neither entertain any unwarrantable hopes of success, nor you become answerable, most unjustly, for the immediate consequences of the Weakness or Wickedness of others.

You receive the commonwealth enfeebled, distressed, dishonoured by a long train of political errors. It were meer declamation to repeat them. Perhaps we already

ready feel them too sensibly, even to the dejection and despair of our people. To you, Sir, it were impertinent to repeat them. Sagacity, like yours, must certainly have, *long since*, foreseen those mischiefs approaching, which you have, *lately*, so pathetically described ; when rhetoric poured forth all its figures, and imagination all its similes, to illustrate, I had almost said to adorn, the unhappy description. Yet while these evils were advancing upon us, the patriot did not oppose, the spirit of declamation was silent, and even that boasted contempt of money was satisfied with a lucrative employment.

But the errors or iniquities of any former ministers can never affect your administration. Far otherwise. Their characters, when opposed to yours, at your first entrance into power, will be placed in the least favourable lights. Sir Robert Walpole, under whom you opened your political life, and with some very peculiar circumstances, will be represented as extremely unequal to the great business of the station he had assumed. His highest abilities will be said, most unjustly, to have consisted in corrupting. Yet, without entering into a vindication of this gentleman's ministry, we may venture

venture to say, he would probably have acted with more spirit and dignity abroad, if he had been opposed at home by a less inflamed and violent faction : a faction that rejoiced in the public disorders, because they gratified their private Resentments. Detestable and pernicious incendiaries ! who could impiously set the nation in flames, that they might plunder her with impunity, of her honours and her treasures, amidst the general conflagration.

We all remember the resignation of this minister, and we are justified by the conduct of the opposition in calling it a faction, though Mr. P— appeared among its leaders. By their shameless breach of twenty years engagements to the public, the very name of patriot became an object of contempt, and love of country a subject of ridicule. Some there were who gloried in the imposition, ob magnitudinem infamiae, cujus apud prodigos novissima voluptas est. *They gloried in that excess of infamy, which to the abandoned is an excess of pleasure.* However, the writer of this paper, is even, by this event, abundantly justified in his present apprehensions, or call them, if you please, distrust and

and jealousy. Never will he again rely upon the promises of patriots, and the virtue of oppositions.

But, to return from this digression: It will be said, that Mr. Pelham succeeded to the ministry, only by a favourable concurrence of circumstances; by being in the secrets of Sir Robert Walpole, and by the general good opinion conceived of his integrity; that in a cold pursuit of peace, however inglorious and insecure, he tamely suffered the insults of the French, and exposed the nation, defenceless, to their invasion; that his very genius was timidity; that all our present distresses were founded in this timidity; or, if I may presume, Sir, to imitate your own pomp of expression, the clouds, which have lately broken over us, were then gathering their thunders.

Yet during this period Mr. P—— continued in a station, that gave him an influence over the conduct of the minister. His advice might have animated, his disapprobation awed him, to measures more honourable and advantageous to the nation. But Mr. P—— chose rather to possess

sets himself in the complacency of his employment, confessedly the most lucrative under the government.

The necessity, Sir, of following you thus punctually through your past conduct, from whence alone we can pronounce with any degree of certainty upon the great expectations of your future administration, compels me, however unwillingly, to enter into the character of our last minister. He will probably be called before a proper tribunal to answer for himself. Let him be then acquitted or condemned by the justice of his country, for it were most unrighteous to fix any prejudices or prepossessions upon him, that may possibly affect him at his trial.

But perhaps it may not be wholly unuseful, Sir, even to you in your present popularity, to remark, how very different the language of the people with regard to this great man, when he was in power, when you supported that power, and since his resignation. It is not denied, that he loved his country, but we are told, his ruling passion was a mistaken love of glory, and the splendor of giving. To this passion he equally sacrificed his private fortune,

tune, and the treasures of the public. He was fruitful in expedients, because his politics were the hurry of his imagination, not the system of his understanding. Conscious of his own weakness, he purchased advisers with the most extravagant profusion, yet refused in his distresses to be guided by their advice; for he was obstinate, tho' timid; he was irresolute, tho' precipitate.

Such was the minister, whom, till last year, you thought it patriotism to support. Yet with regard to your future administration, let it be acknowledged, this minister has left you a fleet superior to that of our enemies, and an army sufficient to repel and avenge an ignominious invasion at home, yet send our colonies a vigorous and effectual succour. That you declined joining with him in the late revolution of our politics, is universally approved. Besides all other, your own personal reasons, you had the experience of a gentleman, who had made an unsuccessful trial of his G—'s firmness to his engagements. To this gentleman you might have been with honour indebted for an example of temper and moderation. In a wise and honest conviction of the pernicious effects of faction and opposition, he declined accepting, from his Majesty's

Majesty's grace and pleasure, that very power, of which, permit me to think, you have violently taken possession by methods wholly unknown to our constitution.

If these are undeniable facts, it is in vain to evade their force by any supposed malignity in the writer; by an assurance, that he loves you not, or by conjectures of his attachments to another gentleman, whom it is apparent, you do not love. Come truth from heaven or hell, its force is equal, and not to believe, is equal obstinacy or blindness. But we confess, it is rather matter of curiosity, than of any real importance, to inquire by what methods you have assumed a kind of arbitrary power in a government, the authority of whose monarchs is limited. The use or abuse of that power is our proper concernment; and although it is acknowledged, that usurpers are often better governors, than legal and hereditary princes, yet is it possible to behold without astonishment that first demand of power, which offered violence to the constitution through all its parts; to the majesty of our sovereign, the dignity of our nobles, and the freedom

of our representatives * ? Can we behold without indignation one only family extending itself through all the great offices of state, and presiding over every branch of the administration ?

But may we presume to ask, what virtues, what excellencies, these *new men* bring with them ? The king is acknowledged the fountain of honour, but yours is certainly, Sir, a far nobler prerogative, if your relations can derive wisdom, abilities, and integrity, from your alliance. Your very name, it seems, conveys a right of claim to honours, employments, and places.

* Never was such a demand made by a subject to his sovereign, except by the Duke of Guise (that favourite of the people, even to madness and blasphemy) to Henry the Third of France. “ He demanded, that all
 “ the princes of the house of Bourbon should be declared to have forfeited all right to the crown for ever : that the lords, who had followed their party, should be deprived of their places and employments, which should be given to his relations, and dependants, *of whom he made a long list ; dont il fit une longue liste : And that his Majesty would be pleased, Qu’il plust à sa Majesté, to declare him Lieutenant-General of all his estates.*” It is evident, says the historian, that these demands, so unreasonable, so insolent, so offensive, *Si d’raisonables, si hautaines, & si choquantes*, tended to put the whole power of the government into the hands of the duke, his relations, and his creatures. HISTOIRE de la LIGUE. MAMBOURG.

places; or if they are to be protected by your eloquence in the H— of C —, surely the pleasant miracle in *Rabelais* † shall be no longer deemed an extravagance. *Pantagruel's* army is apprehensive of a violent shower of rain; their commander assures them, *that as he could see very clearly above the clouds*, it will only be a slight sprinkling; yet he bids them close their files, then throws out *only half* his tongue, and covers them, as a hen covers her chickens. This emblematic image of eloquence may perhaps appear too ludicrous, but even Caricaturas have their likeness.

However, when we remember to have heard a certain nobleman, unhappily, tho' candidly, pleading his being only four months in office, as an excuse for not knowing some very essential forms of it (a plea, which, in honour and equity, should have decided that very extraordinary trial) what must we not reasonably expect from these new people; new at
once

† Qu'il veoit bien au dessus des nuées que ce ne seroit qu'une petite rosée. Lors se mirent en bon ordre & bien ferrez. Et Pantagruel tira sa langue seulement à demy & les en couvrit, comme une geline fait ses poulets.

RABELAIS, 2. B. 31. C.

once to all the offices of the state ? Even the se—y himself, may he not be obliged to bend his modesty to the lessons of his clerk ?

The treasury may perhaps be governed by instinct ; for gold, from the slave, who digs it, to the wretch, who hides it, requires no very extraordinary talents. Or whatever capacity may be necessary to this office, it must be acknowledged, you have not injudiciously appointed a gentleman to a very considerable employment in it. He hath all proper caring for money, and hath temperately learned to submit himself to the good pleasure, and wiser instructions of his superiors. But if our navy must be governed by the same instinct ; if, when experience and knowledge in profession have failed in the destination of our fleets, and the choice of their commanders ; if a total inexperience, and an ignorance, that can hardly be supposed to know the points of the compass ; if they can succeed, let the winds and waves be our pilots.

Could we suppose, that our people in general applauded this very venturous system, yet it were by no means matter of wonder. Reflection and foresight do not
enter

enter into their character. A certain spirit of generosity, a magnanimity most natural to them, make the man of boldness their favourite, and perhaps that line of wild extravagance in *Dryden's* Drawcanfir. "All this I do, because I dare," hath been more applauded in our theatres, than any other of soberest sublimity in *Shakespear*. The multitude of all nations is charmed with every appearance of that bold, irregular greatness, which we usually call Heroism; which acts by a certain enthusiasm of genius; from influences and motives unaccountable to mere human reasoning. The truly great man, who can moderate his own ambition, who founds his plans in wisdom, and rather chooses to prevent an evil by his prudence, than to conquer it by his courage, is not of their taste. Indeed he is an object above their understanding.

But how shall we justify the conduct of gentlemen, who ought to act upon other reasonings, than those of the vulgar? How shall we account for their behaviour upon this occasion? Where is that ancient spirit of our nobility, who used to stand, where the constitution itself hath placed them, between their sovereign, and the lawless impetuosity of these Demagogues,
these

these favourites, these tribunes of the people? Is there only one man among them, who, according to common report, in the consciousness of his own abilities, the dignity of his birth, and the influence of his fortune, dared to call this minister by his proper title? Did he alone assure his Royal Master, that he would not calmly stand to see his closet stormed, and his sacred person violated by one factious family.

The general design of this address is now sufficiently apparent. It cannot be supposed to mean either blame, or reproach, Sir, with regard to your administration, since nothing has been done in it, nothing even attempted. Yet might we not have expected some plan of future operations; some day appointed, however distant, for that inquiry so loudly demanded; some scheme for a militia, to prove at least the practicability of it, and that it was not intended as a meer party-amusement? Supposing such a scheme already prepared, the rest had been hardly more than the resolutions of a single day.

On the contrary, the spirit and ardour of the nation have been languishing under frequent

frequent prorogations, when every hour is of importance. An angry contest hath been started with regard to the Hessians, as if with design to revive a dying popularity. For surely, Sir, however honourable and frugal, however popular some months ago, the resolution of sending them away, you cannot in earnest think it expedient at present, when we must necessarily send so large a body of our national troops to America. If the Hessians are imagined a faithless or useless ally, why lose a moment in dismissing them? Why part with them at such a juncture, if we can rely upon their assistance?

If these prorogations, these delays have been occasioned by your ill state of health, we sincerely condole with you and with the public. Yet can we behold without shame and indignation, the councils of this great nation waiting upon the health or sickness of any one man? We think you greatly capable of serving, tho' not of governing your country, or making it precariously depend on your health or pleasure. Yet, what is there in the abilities of Mr. P—— to promise, which another gentleman could not have executed? Unhappy, most unhappy this nation, if its glory, or its welfare

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fare

fare depends upon the difference, whatever that difference with the utmost partiality may be supposed, between these gentlemen in their parliamentary debates. If strong sense, regularly connected, and forcibly expressed, be not sufficient eloquence for a statesman, I fear our English Burleigh or Godolphin, a French Richelieu or Mazarin, can never be acknowledged statesmen.

Let me be permitted to recapitulate the general heads of this letter, that they may appear under one view before the reader: that your first demand of having the treasury and the navy put under your sole direction, was an indignity offered to the three great estates of these kingdoms: that this demand, both with regard to manner and matter, was unprecedented, unknown to our constitution, unattempted by any former ministers, even in the plenitude of their power; that it bespeaks an overweening of vanity, rather than a consciousness of abilities, to refuse an honourable, and, as it seems to many, a necessary assistance: that there is a wildness of spirit in ambition, fond of projects hazardous, and vast, and above all human power to execute: that we have reason to fear,
that

that your success in such projects, if possible, would be almost as formidable to the constitution of your country, as the conquests of the public enemy, since it matters not by whom we are enslaved; or rather, that it were more honourable to submit to a great and powerful nation, than to the arbitrary pleasure of a man, no better than my equal.

To prevent and oppose all arbitrary designs, is the sole intention of the following paper. I have called it **THE CONSTITUTION**, for I know not another name more powerful, more solemn. It includes our dearest, most valuable possessions, our liberties and religion. It calls upon us, in the name of our ancestors, from whom we have received it, and of our posterity, to whom we have tacitly promised it shall descend unviolated, to unite in its defence, whether against the secret betrayer, or the open usurper.

Let me beg, Sir, one moment's indulgence more, to assure you, if ever the writer of this paper should be known, nor is he extremely anxious to conceal his name, he will be more ashamed of any personal rudeness, if it should escape his

attention, than you can be offended at it. Your private reputation he will ever esteem sacred; your political you yourself have given to the public. He readily acknowledges your character above being treated with petulance or levity. The subject, upon which he presumes to write, disclaims all attempts at that vivacity, usually called wit, and surely our present national circumstances are ill-suited to pleasantries. If, however, he should not pay you that respect, which is due to your station, it is because he thinks, you have assumed it irregularly, nor can he allow, that genius, parts, and abilities, even great as yours, are truly praise-worthy, until he sees them exerted in supporting his MAJESTY's crown and dignity; in promoting the welfare of his people; above all in preserving, and, if possible, in improving the CONSTITUTION.

I am, SIR, &c.

THE

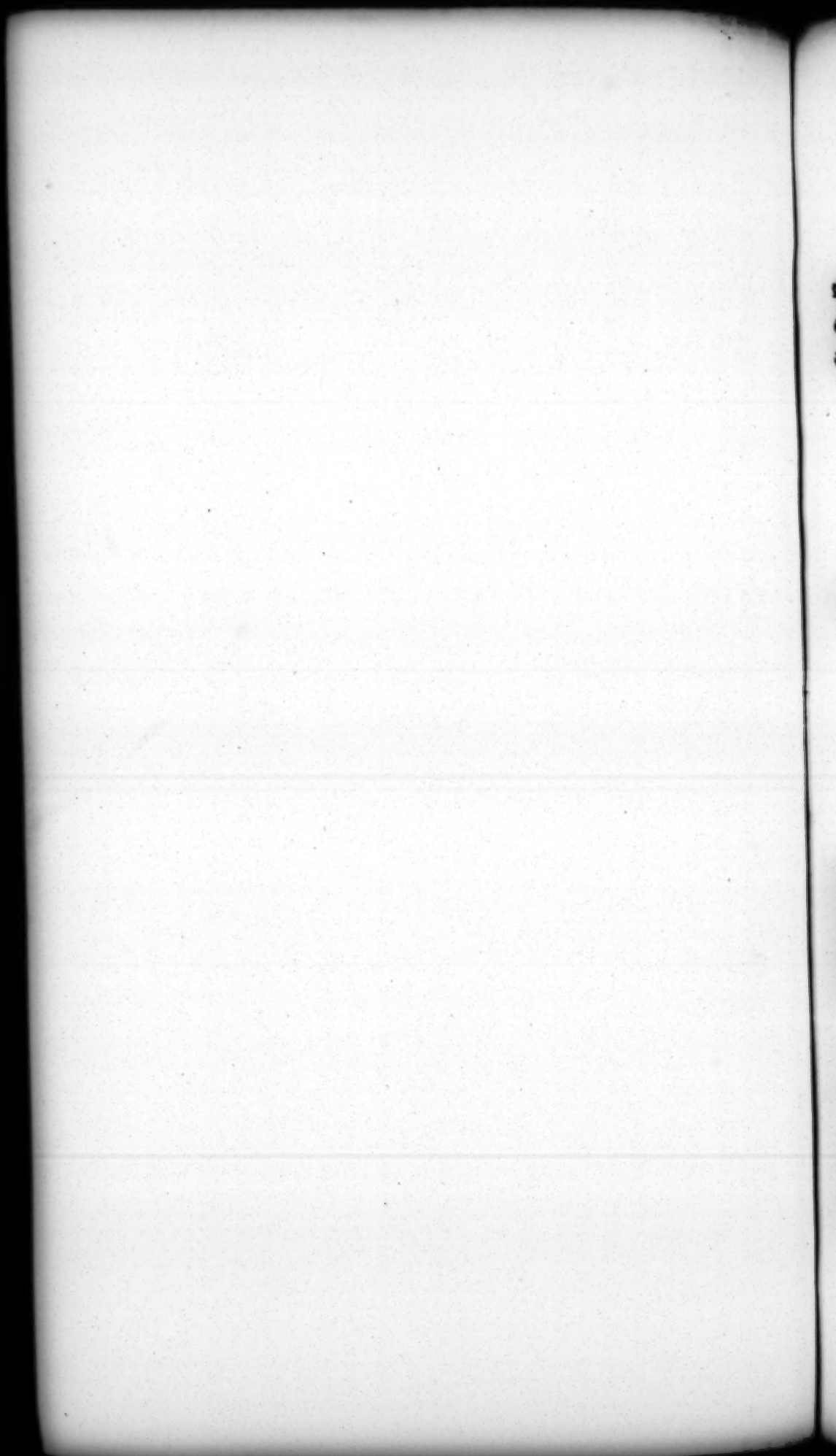


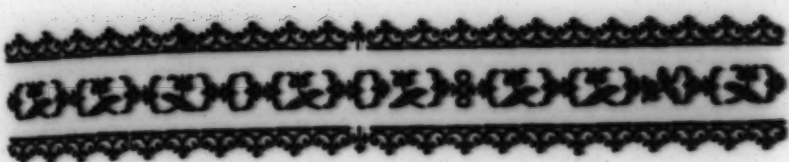
THE
CONSTITUTION.

NUMBER I.

To be continued occasionally.








THE
CONSTITUTION.

NUMBER I.

 WRITER of the greatest abilities could not be more honourably employed with regard to himself, or more usefully to his country, than in inquiring into all the different forms of government, established since the first periods of history. I mean only of monarchies under whatever various limitations, and of republics, whether aristocratical or oligarchical ; for I would not willingly

willingly call despotism government, although it be honoured by Montesquieu with that name. Absolute and unconditional obedience is slavery ; to demand or compel to that obedience is tyranny. There can be no system (which our first ideas of government suppose) where will and pleasure, ever variable and precarious, have the sole direction of our actions.

From such an inquiry we should be able to pronounce, whether these forms of polity were founded in pure, political wisdom, or upon the influences of climate, the natural spirit, and original customs of different nations : whether their dissolution proceeded from principles of ruin inherent in their first formation ; whether from time and extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, from errors in administration, or licentiousness in the subject. We should then be satisfied, upon what reasons Tacitus, who alone of all the ancients had sagacity to foresee the possibility of our present constitution, pronounced it incapable of any long duration.

Thus far even curiosity might lead us, and not without sufficient gratification.
But

But to point out the faults of all other political systems, with an intention of correcting our own, and introducing into the present establishment whatever was of peculiar excellence in others, whatever is capable of giving it any additional support or security, would be the noblest service of duty and affection, that a subject of Britain could render to his sovereign and his country. Nor would the influences of such a work be confined to Britain only. They would probably extend to Europe, to all mankind, to whom they might restore their natural birthright of liberty ; at least convince them, that political liberty is not an imaginary blessing, and that whatever people deserves to be free, cannot want the means.

An assertion in our late poet,

For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administer'd is best,

is rather to magisterially pronounced, and is perhaps liable to many objections. There are certainly some original principles in every political constitution, which naturally insure a longer duration ; others
D more

more liable to dissolution. Impossible otherwise to account for Solon's being himself a witness of the ruin of that democracy, which he fancied he had formed for immortality. Whence was the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, after having preserved itself above six hundred years, the last, that submitted to the Romans? whence were the Samnites, whose government was formed upon that of Lacedæmon, whence was it capable of resisting the power of Rome, even to four and twenty triumphs? even Rome herself, if not from some internal excellence in her constitution, whence was she able to maintain her original polity, through such frequent and violent revolutions? let us only remark, at present, that the Spartan, the Samnite, and Roman forms of government, of all others, most nearly resembled that of Britain.

The British constitution is that political system, which includes all the legislative and executive powers of our government. Liberty is the soul, the spirit, that animates this system. It is the gift of God, unalienable by our weakness, our folly, or our wickedness. But instead of wandering into idle and puerile descriptions of this envy of the nations round us, its beauties

beauties and its excellencies ; instead of losing ourselves in vague and uncertain accounts of its original, let us determine to preserve it pure and unviolated to our posterity.

Authors, of much deep speculation, have found, that it contains in it all the possible advantages of every other form of polity. But none of them, forgive me if I mistake, have discovered, that it is equally liable to every mischief, that threatens, or produces ruin in all those other forms. Its monarchy hath a strong tendency to tyranny ; its nobles to aristocracy, and the representatives of the people to democracy ; for the principles of them all are in its original foundation.

Our princes have not only used all the common, human methods of enslaving their people, but religion hath given her terrors in aid to the unnatural design. The divine right of tyranny hath entered into our creeds, and been pressed upon us by the penalties of eternal damnation. The barons, till the reign of Henry the seventh, maintained an aristocratical power, which threatened, insulted, and even de-

throned their kings. That wise and able monarch threw a large balance of property, and consequently of power, into the hands of the commons, who from thence became, by their representatives, the preservers of the constitution. But they also betrayed the sacred trust reposed in them, when confusion, anarchy, and bigotry broke through all restraints of laws and morals and religion, under a vain attempt of founding a republic. These guardians, by their nature and office the guardians of the constitution, totally destroyed its very being both in church and state. They became an oppressive, tyrannical oligarchy, until one man, more eminently wicked, with every semblance of political virtue, that hypocrisy could counterfeit, with every reality of ambitious vice, that a bad, bold heart could dictate, seized upon the supreme authority, and exercised it with an extent of power unknown to our lawful sovereigns. Religion was ever on his lips, and a zeal for God's truth in all his professions. But let us remember, that he put the shackles and manacles of slavery upon us with the words of liberty, and love of country. Never did the world behold so total a destruction of any constitution.

When

When Athens and Rome expelled their tyrants, some part of their ancient forms of government was preserved. Cæsar maintained all former names, sacred, civil, political, and military ; but Cromwell abolished the very names of kings, lords, and bishops, while the wretches, he called his parliament, were made the instruments of his tyranny, and sworn to do the work of slavery. Such was this illustrious patron of liberty.

This revolution, which amazed, and still amazes all Europe, was in its circumstances little less than wonderful, but in its principles was deeply founded in the first formation of our constitution. Another of the very same nature would probably have happened some few years ago, if his m—y had not wisely given way to the torrent of a much mistaken popularity, or if a certain noble lord had possessed the wicked greatness of Oliver Cromwell. The acts of oppression and arbitrary power in the crown, from which the first of these great events proceeded; the arts by which it was driven to such a shameful extreme, are the proper objects of history, and happily this period of the British annals, of all others

others to us of greatest importance, is written with a spirit and dignity, befitting the name of history. This paper would only endeavour to prove, that it naturally proceeded from some original error in our constitution, which still subsisting, may again produce the same direful effects. But, if ever such ruin should again befall us, surely the reflection, that a moderate degree of attention could have foreseen, and of resolution could have prevented it, will add affliction even to the miseries of such a calamity.

Here let me request and expect the candour of my readers, in believing I write with that love and reverence this excellent constitution should inspire in a man, who hath lived long and happily under its protection. The subject is new and delicate, yet, for other reasons, far more important, than any that can affect the writer of this paper, I hope not dangerous. When the liberty of nations, with that of all their posterity is concerned, it were abject to be anxious for a personal, single safety.

Let me then be permitted to say, there enters too much of democratical into our
form

form of government. I will not presume to assert, that our representatives are too numerous, or the powers, intrusted to them by the constitution, too extensive; but if, besides their own 'passions, interests, and prejudices, they should ever bring with them those of their constituents, their numbers would have too much the appearance of a popular assembly. One fatal consequence, attending all democracies, would attend such an assembly. Some few powerful speakers would in general determine the debates; for eloquence must have chosen its party with very little judgment, if it cannot influence the passions of a multitude.

In ancient definitions, a perfect orator is necessarily supposed a perfectly good man, but perhaps modern oratory should not be so severely confined. If then, in any future period of our history, an orator should arise in the H— of C—— precipitate and impetuous in his ambition; bold to imagine, and desperate to act; an enemy to the administration, and not a friend to the constitution; highly conceiving of his own abilities, and assuming to himself all sense, all virtue and integrity; if such an orator should arise, where is the man, who shall presume to assure us, that our liberties

ties are not in danger? In the language of an ancient, zealous assertor of liberty, "If
 " a God (and surely nothing human is
 " worthy of belief in such a cause) should
 " give us this assurance, yet it were igno-
 " minious to be unattentive to our proper
 " safety, or careless in vindicating the
 " rights of our posterity.

But if this orator arises in a period of national distress and calamity, whether of pestilence or famine; of adverse accidents in war, or male-administration in government; if he takes advantage of these calamities, to promote the purposes of his ambition, and to grow popular by abhorred descriptions of them, with every addition, that an inflamed imagination can form of terror and of danger, even then shall we be justified in taking the alarm? the subjects, upon which he exerts this fatal eloquence, are of all others most suited to awaken and engage our attention, to impel, to animate, to enflame. Apprehensions of an exorbitant power in the crown; the abuses of prerogative; the horrors of slavery; the weakness and wickedness of ministers, the sacred names of liberty and constitution, which even in the confused, unconnected speeches of Cromwel,

Cromwel, could infatuate our people to believe, and be enslaved.

If we had an history of liberty from the earliest ages of the world, I am convinced, we should find the impious attempts to enslave mankind, succeeding rather by treachery, than force. But let us endeavour to give a slight, imperfect sketch of this history, as far as we are able to trace it in the compass of this paper, through the great republics of Greece and Rome. In Athens, the orators, who received pensions from the commonwealth for defending her interests against foreign states, and for being watchful over her domestic freedom, at first endeavoured to enslave her themselves by turbulent, seditious factions, and then sold her to Philip. The Ephori of Sparta, originally chosen as representatives of the people to assert their natural rights, deposed, imprisoned, murdered their kings. The Roman tribunes, established to preserve the Plebeians from the oppressions of the senators, soon assumed the whole power of the republic ; made themselves masters of all public deliberations ; insulted the senate, and even dared

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to

to send their officers to arrest the dictator, the great and good Camillus, and carry that supreme magistrate of the state to prison.

* Never was any civil war ; never was any sedition raised ; any revolution formed, but

* The first dissention between the Patricians and Plebeians, that ever was stained with the blood of a Roman citizen was raised by Tiberius Gracchus. This Tribune had an insinuating, persuasive, affecting eloquence. He lamented with a pathetic tenderness the miseries of the people, and the usurpations of the senate. He assumed a temper and moderation, which seemed regardless of aught, that concerned his own personal interests, and under a zeal for those of his fellow-citizens disguised an insatiable and boundless ambition. The violent death, by which he fell, was undoubtedly illegal ; but it was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the constitution, and therefore just. His brother Caius pursued the same pernicious plan of popularity, but with greater abilities. His eloquence was more vehement, more adorned with figures, more animated with personal invectives. He governed the republic with an absolute, despotic power. He had usurped the whole administration, either immediately by himself, or by his relations, his creatures and dependants. He was constantly surrounded by foreign ambassadors, magistrates and soldiers. If he had not been taken off in the same manner, as his brother Tiberius, Rome had never known another hour of liberty.

but under the horrid auspices of these patrons of the people, these defenders of public freedom. Marius had his Saturninus, the most execrable of mankind, and Sulpitius the most abandoned : Catiline had his mad Cethegus : Pompey, Crassus and Cæsar, the furious Clodius, the profligate Milo. Even the impious Cæsar, who at last enslaved his country, and entailed upon her a race of tyrants, the reproach and horror of human nature, was himself a favourite of the people, and a declared protector of liberty.

And are not these examples sufficient to justify our doubts and apprehensions ? Yes ; our present distrust, our jealousies, our suspicions. If not ; the rest is slavery.

I shall end this paper with the sentiments of an ancient author, not yet translated into English. “ Cities and fortresses have
 “ their proper defence, walls, trenches,
 “ fortifications. But nature hath given to
 “ a wise and generous people, a bulwark
 “ more impregnable. What bulwark ?
 “ Diffidence.” Let us preserve, let us
 maintain

maintain this fortress of liberty. Let us
oppose with resolution the open attacks
of its enemies, nor suffer it to be un-
dermined by the treachery of its pretended
friends.



